114 the Caraja -- from the 'irewẽhẽ,' who, I take it, are the
173 Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of
174 Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitsua bury the
174 dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is
764 proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested
114 to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some
144 distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-
174 cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos
174 that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitsua knew nothing
173 of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for
823 example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananí-chingebó or chinghó. It is possible

823 [173] that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitáua, no Tapirapé had seen that chingbó river except for one single youth "who was there once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairabó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

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Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

Chapter 3

[99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 [648] Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torf. [Ed., the remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

192 805 According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is ĩn, "tomorrow" is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number antxepé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mõkõimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mõkõimi, "day before yesterday," since as a rule they do not count to mapit, "three," preferring to say vuaitépe, "much "(in quantity), or mõ (or mũ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Montoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

805 Since not only the computations of time but its direct denominations as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena. Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in question. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

805 It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kaém, "daybreak," and kandk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, N.S. 19, 24 (1927).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara-guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirapé shamans travel widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand experience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kanwahu, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinambá (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinambá, comme pour la plupart des tribus sudaméricaines, certaines personnages dotés d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des mortels ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la mer, leur œuvre est toujours partielle et inachevée, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirapé view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

In point of time, the Tapirapé consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirapé called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirapé by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirapé are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river-beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *anupe awa*, as modern Tapirapé call themselves.[6]

"Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirapé world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated. Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirapé. Finally Petura went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirapé culture heroes, of shamans after death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirapé, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. Périple during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[5] *Jacu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura roilata*. *Mutum*: *Crax fasciolata*.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, *Estudos de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 207-210.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirapé, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirapé are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22

A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*paucke*) see malevolent beings in their dream-travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *awrya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirapé laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirapé living, not only because he has dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirapé swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the Tapirapé River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting rays, and according to Tapirapé belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirapé go hunting, it is up to the shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[29] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirapé often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirapé is not finite or entirely known; it is dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a

[29] When the Tapirapé have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirapé sees an unexpected rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).